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The remaining chapters deserve strong words of approval, for much hitherto unused material is skillfully handled and made to yield important results. The thesis that Calhoun did not lead, but followed, the people of South Carolina is clearly proven; among the causes for nullification, economic conditions receive proper consideration in the abundance of proof that the distress of the state was due less to the tariff than to slavery and the low price of cotton, brought about by overproduction. The importance of the Union party and the part which it played in the struggle are given due prominence. Among the appendices the recently discovered letter written by Calhoun in 1824 is worth careful perusal.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States, 1870-1895. By E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1896. Two vols., pp. xxiii, 395; xxii, 439.)

PRESIDENT ANDREWS, in these two sumptuous volumes, must perforce give every reader a vivid impression of the picturesqueness and variety of the events that the annals-writer finds ready at hand for inclusion in a narrative history of the United States since the close of the civil war. This past quarter-century of American life has witnessed a marvellous economic expansion. The economic conquest of our western empire had, indeed, begun before the war, and its processes had forced to a test the issues that the war decided. But the war itself, despite its prodigal sacrifice of economic resources, developed a volume of potential energy that,—given a sufficiently large outlet,—could but compensate the loss many times over. The continent was forthwith crossed and recrossed with numerous lines of railways. Two or three millions of young men who had been disciplined and trained in the school of war had come forth with ambition and efficiency tenfold increased. The war had been destructive of men, also, but it had not lasted long enough to exhaust the vitality of the nation. On the contrary it had acted as a magical tonic. The triumph of the Union, with the enactment of the homestead law and the accessibility of the public lands by reason of the construction of the network of trans-Mississippi railways, had, in turn, acted most powerfully upon the imagination of the artisan and peasant classes in Europe. The Western states established immigration bureaus, and vied with the railway and steamship companies in promoting the transfer of population from Germany, Scandinavia and other European countries to the new states and territories of our West. The Franco-Prussian war and the increasing rigors of the military régime in Europe accelerated the movement that enlisted mighty fleets in transporting millions of people to our side of the Atlantic. Most of these new comers brought with them a certain degree of industrial skill and some capital. Such a period of migration seemed to the dominant party an auspicious time for

forcing, by discriminative tariffs, a rapid development of American manufacturing interests. Enormous volumes of European capital were borrowed, with which to build American railways, to develop Western agriculture and to assist in the occupation of the desirable American markets by American manufacturers.

At the same time it was inevitable that political conditions should be turbulent. The readjustment of the South must in any case have made some chapters of instructive political history, even if the race question had not survived the war in changed forms. The party which had prosecuted the war must, in the very philosophy and logic of the case, have held too strenuous a subsequent course, making reaction inevitable. The re-alignments of party, therefore, must have involved an interesting process which would claim due attention from the historian. Moreover, the political as well as the economic problems of the new commonwealths of the West must have been a noteworthy factor in contemporary history-making.

For the serious student of history, therefore, the test which such a work as that of President Andrews must meet is the adequacy with which it recognizes the essential factors of the period under discussion, and the faithfulness and accuracy with which it presents the significant facts in their due relationship and proportion. A picturesque grouping of incidents the author has certainly given us. His materials were brought together primarily for publication in serial form in a popular magazine; and events and circumstances were so grouped as to give each succeeding monthly paper its due quota of dramatic episodes. Of the liveliness, variety and high colors of the pattern one should have no need to complain, if the web itself were of firm and consistent texture. But when tested with reference to its fundamental qualities the work seems disappointing. President Andrews gives us, in his second volume, for example, a spirited description, heightened in effect by the numerous accompanying pictures, of the "boomers" who settled Oklahoma in a day. But one searches the volumes in vain for any presentation whatever of the national land policy, and the colossal progress of events under that policy, which constitute the most important history-making factor of the quarter-century under discussion. Nor is there any account given, except by incidental references, of the immigration movement which has brought into this country since the civil war almost fifteen million people, who, with their children, now constitute probably one-third of our total population. Such a *Volkswanderung* has hardly a parallel in the history of Aryan migrations. The significance of all this is primary and fundamental in a rightly proportioned study of the recent history of the United States. Yet this supreme factor is assumed rather than discussed by President Andrews, who nevertheless finds space to devote some pages to the "Coxey army" march, an incident that obviously gives a good opportunity for the illustrator. And whereas one finds no account of the allotment of public lands to millions of families who have in this quarter-century erected new farming commonwealths, made themselves a dominant factor in the world's food supply, and thus profoundly affected agrarian conditions in

every part of Europe as well as in India, in Australia and in South America, one finds a number of pages devoted to the explanation in detail of the beginnings of our system of allotting lands in severalty to the red Indians.

Since President Andrews' narrative deals preëminently with American politics, and since in American politics the struggle for administrative reform belongs so essentially to the main movement of our recent history, one is disappointed to find this movement for civil service reform in its broad bearings so subordinately treated. Another of the great themes that the philosophical historian must discuss when this period is viewed from a distance great enough to allow proper perspective, must be the unprecedented rise and amalgamation of capital, and the relation of amalgamated capital to government as regards for instance the protective tariff, the land-grant railways, the anti-monopoly and anti-corporation movements in the Western states, the rise of Populism and its dominance in a number of commonwealths in the West, the relationship of various quasi-public corporations to municipal government, and the general attitude of public opinion and of law-making bodies towards trusts and industrial combinations. To those cases where capital has come into sensational collision with labor, as in the great Pittsburg strike riots and the more recent Chicago railway strikes, President Andrews gives much space, and the artists supply an abundance of pictures. But the remarkable absorption since the war of nearly all the best talent of the country in private enterprises, and the accumulation of wealth at the expense of the real dominance and dignity of government, a condition so essentially characteristic of the period since the war, Mr. Andrews does not treat with the lucid presentment one might hope to discover in his volumes. The Tweed episode in New York, the Kearney riots in San Francisco, the Cincinnati riots of 1884, and like disorders in other towns, are recalled in pages of graphic descriptive writing, with much attention to the personal and dramatic details. But the larger story of municipal life and progress in the past quarter-century is not told in these pages. The beginnings of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in southern Ohio and its novel incidents are recounted in details that seem to us trivial ; while the prohibition movement as embodied in the constitutions and statutes of a number of states is wholly ignored.

It is not then in the more serious sense a history of the past quarter-century that we find in these volumes, but rather a recital of stirring incidents and events which illustrate the movement of these recent times. Mr. Andrews' style is terse, forcible and graphic. There is not a diffuse page in either volume, nor a dull line. In a work devoted so largely to an account of individual men and their public actions, President Andrews has held a rare balance of judgment and has shown good temper and due reserve. He has used the utmost care to state controverted questions fairly, and to do justice to the motives of men whose attitudes and actions evidently do not accord with his own views. It would be nothing less than justice to President Andrews to explain that he was,

clearly enough, not attempting a philosophical survey of the history-making factors of the period. Otherwise, for example, so distinguished an educator would not have failed to give a large space to the progress of American schools and universities. For surely in a well-proportioned history, the progress of education would deserve as much consideration as the World's Fair ; yet the remarkable advances of our educational life and the important bearing of school and university upon public opinion and social ideals have no part in the history ; while the Columbian exhibition at Chicago, particularly its architectural features, claims more space than any other subject in the two volumes, with the possible exception of the negro question in the South.

With all its shortcomings, President Andrews has given us a bold, rapid and electrically vivid narrative. It can be most advantageously used, perhaps, in connection with a study of our social and political life based, for example, upon the second volume of Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. Whereas Mr. Bryce reviews our institutions as he found them on various inspections throughout the same period covered by Mr. Andrews, his use of incidents and personalities is always kept subordinate to his description and analysis of general conditions. Mr. Andrews, on the other hand, almost wholly subordinates general considerations and gives us a series of concrete pictures, the men and the scenes in his panorama advancing in the chronological order, so far as conditions of dramatic grouping will permit. To many readers, such a narrative as this, when once presented, seems an extremely simple and easy performance that almost any writer could achieve, with the help of the annual cyclopedia, a file of *Harper's Weekly*, and a moderate assortment of newspaper clippings. Nothing could be further from the truth. The difficulty of selection is great ; and the power to present dramatically the incidents which illustrate in a representative sense the course of public affairs, is a gift that few men possess. Mr. Andrews has blazed a path through an immeasurable wilderness of materials ; and future travellers will find his "trail" useful and valuable to them at many points.

It is just to add, moreover, that there belongs to President Andrews' work one quality of its own that would give it value far above that of any merely diligent compiler and clear narrator who might attempt to weave a like narrative with the aid of the annual cyclopedias and the newspaper files. This superior quality, it is almost needless to remark, is that which President Andrews supplies in his capacity as a contemporary observer. He is himself at once a scholar and a man of action, a political reformer, a keen discerner of the signs of the times, a participant in the movements of the day no less than a student and on-looker. He is a representative of the best-trained and most disinterested element of the American citizenship of the period which he discusses. Everything described in these volumes has happened within the period of his own personal recollection, and has, of necessity, made at the very moment of its occurrence a strong impression upon his mind and judgment. President Andrews has endeavored with much apparent success to eliminate the

personal equation. But after all he could only tell of events as he saw them, in the light of his own training and preconceptions. Its very lack of controversial tone will in the end make his work the more valuable for its point of view. Its omissions, no less than the matters which it comprises, and those which it particularly emphasizes, will have significance fifty years hence as helping to show how history seemed unfolding before the eyes of an intelligent and disinterested American who was in the prime of his active life in the turbulent period of high dynamics that followed the civil war. As compared with Mr. Justin McCarthy's method in his *History of Our Own Times*, President Andrews' narrative is less elaborate and less ambitious, whether from the philosophical or the literary standpoint; but the American work is more tense, vital and dramatic. It is by no means to be dismissed as a work of small importance. On the contrary it is both a remarkable and a creditable exploit. The average citizen will read it with avidity, and the student will find it most convenient by reason of its rapid and consecutive survey of a period so recent that hitherto there has been no attempt to mark it off with historical guide-posts.

ALBERT SHAW

The Story of Canada. By J. G. BOURINOT, LL. D., Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons. [The Story of the Nations.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1896. Pp. xx, 463.)

THIS volume is on the whole no discredit to the *Story of the Nations* series. The author has had his work conditioned for him very largely, and his critics are precluded from scrutiny along some of the main lines of historical requirement. The book will probably increase Dr. Bourinot's reputation as a ready popularizer; he can hardly expect it to add to his claim as an historical student. No addition is made in it to our knowledge or to our insight; beyond some well-used citations from the early French explorers, but slight evidence of independent research is presented either in text or footnote. As a popular statement, however, the book will be useful. The secondary authorities have been industriously used, the arrangement is fairly good, the illustrations are well selected, the style is in the main easy and direct, the tone moderate and just.

The distribution of this narrative is however frequently ill-advised. Two-thirds of the historical portion carries us only to 1760; a disproportion due mainly to the fact that the first fifty pages barely cover a period to which the voluminous Kingsford gives only twenty. Chapter VII., which sketches the Acadia of 1614-77 in about the same space as had in Chapter V. been devoted to the period 1604-14, is mainly occupied with unimportant details of the unimportant struggles between Charnizay and La Tour. Eighteen pages are devoted to Indian tribal conditions, while only eleven are assigned to a description (necessarily most superficial) of the social and institutional characteristics of Canada throughout its whole life as a French royal province (1663-1759). Entirely too much space,